INTERACT – RESEARCHING THIRD COUNTRY NATIONALS' INTEGRATION AS A THREE-WAY PROCESS - IMMIGRANTS, COUNTRIES OF EMIGRATION AND COUNTRIES OF IMMIGRATION AS ACTORS OF INTEGRATION

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The Conceptual Framework of the INTERACT Project

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**Researching Third Country Nationals' Integration as a Three-way Process -
Immigrants, Countries of Emigration and Countries of Immigration as Actors of
Integration**

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INTERACT - Researching Third Country Nationals' Integration as a Three-way Process - Immigrants, Countries of Emigration and Countries of Immigration as Actors of Integration

Around 25 million persons born in a third country (TCNs) are currently living in the European Union (EU), representing 5% of its total population. Integrating immigrants, i.e. allowing them to participate in the host society at the same level as natives, is an active, not a passive, process that involves two parties, the host society and the immigrants, working together to build a cohesive society.

Policy-making on integration is commonly regarded as primarily a matter of concern for the receiving state, with general disregard for the role of the sending state. However, migrants belong to two places: first, where they come and second, where they now live. While integration takes place in the latter, migrants maintain a variety of links with the former. New means of communication facilitating contact between migrants and their homes, globalisation bringing greater cultural diversity to host countries, and nation-building in source countries seeing expatriate nationals as a strategic resource have all transformed the way migrants interact with their home country.

INTERACT project looks at the ways governments and non-governmental institutions in origin countries, including the media, make transnational bonds a reality, and have developed tools that operate economically (to boost financial transfers and investments); culturally (to maintain or revive cultural heritage); politically (to expand the constituency); legally (to support their rights).

INTERACT project explores several important questions: To what extent do policies pursued by EU member states to integrate immigrants, and policies pursued by governments and non-state actors in origin countries regarding expatriates, complement or contradict each other? What effective contribution do they make to the successful integration of migrants and what obstacles do they put in their way?

A considerable amount of high-quality research on the integration of migrants has been produced in the EU. Building on existing research to investigate the impact of origin countries on the integration of migrants in the host country remains to be done.

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Abstract

The research on migrants' integration to the date has examined in detail individual and group processes of integration on one hand, and the actions of the countries of destination and their societies in this regard on the other. One aspect missing from the analyses has been the role of the countries and communities of origin in integration processes at the destination. The INTERACT project defines integration as a three-way, a three-scale, and a multidimensional process. Building on existing research, we investigate the impact of origin countries on the integration of migrants in the country of destination looking at policies, actors and actions at both ends of migration. The present paper is an introduction laying down the conceptual framework of the project. First, we examine overall approaches to integration in literature; then we present existing research in nine areas of integration (i.e. labor market outcome, education, political participation, civic participation, social interactions, access to nationality, language, religion, and residential integration) based on the nine deeper analysis (INTERACT position papers); finally, we identify the gaps in research that INTERACT primary research can cover.

Introduction

Around 25 million persons born in a third country are currently living in the European Union (EU), representing 5% of its total population. Integrating migrants, i.e. allowing them to participate in the country of destination's society at the same level as natives, is an active, not a passive, process that involves two parties, the country of destination and the migrants, working together to build a cohesive society.

The focus of INTERACT is mainly on the first generation of legally staying migrants, that is to say people born in third countries currently living in the EU-28[1]. We also consider migrant children in the specific context of educational outcomes. Although the first generation is not expected to be fully immersed in mainstream society and culture, there is an expectation, both in the academic literature and public policy, that the first generation severs its ties with the country of origin. Some scholars acknowledge the salience of "transnational ties" for the first generation but predict that they might rapidly decline among their children (Alba and Nee 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Much high-quality research on migrants' integration has been produced. It examined in detail individual and group processes of integration on one hand, and the actions of the countries of destination and their societies in this regard on the other. The novelty here is to bring in the country of origin as an actor of integration in the country of destination.

Building on existing research, we investigate the impact of origin countries on the integration of migrants in the country of destination. The aim of this paper is thus twofold: first, we examine existing research in nine areas of integration (i.e. labor market outcome, education, political participation, civic participation, social interactions, access to nationality, language, religion, and residential integration) focusing on the role of the countries of origin and of destination in integration outcomes of migrants; second, we identify the gaps in research that INTERACT primary research can cover.

As an introduction to INTERACT, we will define our general theoretical framework regarding the influence of ties between countries of destination and of origin on the migrant integration.

1. Theoretical approaches to integration

If the integration of migrants was first defined as a one-way process of assimilation in the majority group of the country of destination, further migration studies reconceptualized it as a two-way process. In contrast, we postulate integration as a three-way process.

1.1 "Integration" in migration studies

What was called the "classic assimilation theories" in the 1960s (Safi 2011), that is to say the First School of Chicago, saw "assimilation" of migrants to the receiving country as a natural process of inclusion. This process was an individual one (Park 1928) based on a linear cycle of incorporation of migrants into the "mainstream" over time (Park and Burgess 1921; Warner and Srole 1945; Thomas and Znaniecki 1958). Integration was thus seen as a one-way process.

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[1] In the INTERACT Project, we focus on migrants from the 55 third countries which have each more than 100,000 emigrants in the EU-28: Turkey, Morocco, Algeria, India, Albania, Ukraine, Russia, China, Pakistan, Ecuador, United States, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Tunisia, Brazil, Colombia, Philippines, Iraq, Bangladesh, Peru, Vietnam, Argentina, South Africa, Nigeria, Serbia, Iran, Sri Lanka, Moldova, Senegal, Bolivia, Suriname, Egypt, Ghana, Venezuela, Somalia, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Thailand, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Canada, Australia, Angola, Dominican Republic, Jamaica, DR Congo, Kenya, Belarus, Zimbabwe, Lebanon, Chile, Cuba, Japan, Madagascar, Syria, South Korea, Cameroon.

In 1964, Gordon conceptualized "assimilation" and highlighted different "types or stages of assimilation": "Acculturation," "structural assimilation," "marital assimilation," "identificational assimilation," "attitude receptional assimilation," "behavior receptional assimilation," and "civic assimilation." First comes "acculturation" defined as the "cultural or behavioral assimilation" towards the "core culture"[2] of the white middle class of Protestant and Anglo-Saxon origin (WASP), culture subject to minor modifications, if any, in contact with new migrants. It can operate alone, without other dimensions of assimilation occurring. According to Gordon, "structural assimilation" is the "keystone" of the assimilation process (Gordon 1964, 81). "Once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow" (Ibid.). To "structural assimilation", that is to say "large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society, on primary level," follows "marital assimilation" seen as "inevitable byproduct of structural assimilation" (Ibid., 80). And if intermarriage between members of majority and minority groups is complete, the lasts "lose [their] ethnic identity" and "identificational assimilation" takes place. "Identificational assimilation" is defined as the "development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society" (Ibid., 71). As it is no longer possible to distinguish groups from each other, prejudice ("attitude receptional assimilation") and discrimination ("behavior receptional assimilation") fade. Similarly, if acculturation is complete, the civic conflict of values between groups will no longer take place, leading to "civic assimilation."

Gordon's conception of integration meant a multidimensional process. His second contribution from *Assimilation in American Life* highlighted the role of "structural assimilation" within the whole integration process of migrants. Both Gordon and classical assimilation theorists from the First School of Chicago were objects of critique. Safi (2011) classifies these critiques in three different categories: the culturalist critique, the structuralist critique, and the segmented assimilation theory. While the first criticizes the existence of a uniform mainstream on which migrants should assimilate, thus seeing assimilation as a one-way process, and highlights the fact that different ethnic groups could be in the same society[3], the second highlights the importance of structural inequalities (direct and indirect discrimination on the housing and labour market for instance) which could slow down, or even stop the integration process of migrants (Massey 1985; Shibutani and Kwan 1965). And the segmented assimilation theory developed by Portes and his colleagues highlighted the plurality of integration processes depending on collective actors and contextual factors. These collective actors are: the State of the country of destination and especially its migration and integration policies, public opinion regarding migrants, and "ethnic communities" in the country of destination (Portes 1995). Depending on how the actions of these actors would articulate with contextual factors such as the economic situation, and individual characteristics, three different types of integration were highlighted: an "upward assimilation," a "downward assimilation," and an economic assimilation without acculturation (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). So, following this approach it is worth taking into account civil society organizations and the State in the analysis of the individual integration of migrants in their new country of residence.

But if this conception of integration highlights the importance of supra-individual institutions, two types of actors were overlooked. First, only State policies towards immigrants in the countries of destination are taken into account, without analyzing the impact of the State policies towards emigrants in the country of origin. Second, the strength of the "ethnic community" is only measured through its size, and "occupational structure" (that is to say the social background of its members) (Portes 1995, 26). Neither the institutions in the country of destination, such as associations, schools, churches nor the ones in the country of origin are mentioned.

In the 1990s, Alba and Nee (1997) suggested a new approach on assimilation. While they rooted their concept of integration in classical assimilation theory, they deepened it following the different

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[2] Gordon is here referring to Fishman's definition of "core society" and "core culture" (Fishman 1961).

[3] See for example (Glazer and Moynihan 1970).

critics and research that were implemented since then. Among these critics they show some "gaps" in Gordon's typology. Economic assimilation and school performance are overlooked, while the concept of "structural assimilation" is too broad, knowing that both dimensions of integration were and are still studied in migration studies[4]. School performance and labour market integration are seen as essential in current migration studies since they deeply influence other dimensions of integration in a country: social interactions with natives/migrants, access to nationality, and housing. And this leads us to Alba and Nee's second point: Gordon did not include spatial assimilation in his typology. Following Massey and Denton (1988), they consider "entry into relatively advantaged suburban communities that contain many whites [as] a key stage in the process" of assimilation (Alba and Nee 1997, 837). This disentanglement of integration processes into various sub-fields was crucial in the development of complex research approaches to measuring (see e.g. MIPEX) and studying integration in Europe.

European empirical research on migration started a few decades after this kind of research were implemented in the US. European researchers used the American theoretical framework regarding migrants' integration. While taking into account the particularity of the American context in which this kind of theoretical framework was built, European research tested if it was relevant in the European context (see e.g. European Forum for Migration Studies 2001; Esser 2003; Martiniello and Rath 2010; Penninx, Berger, and Kraal 2006). European research (Schrödter and Kalter 2008; Berrington 1996; Safi 2011 e.g. regarding mixed marriages), as well as American research (e.g. Warner and Srole 1945; Rumbaut 2004), considers integration as a process: time is thus a key in understanding this phenomenon. Age, life-course and generation have thus to be taken into account while studying migrants' integration.

Taking into account the existing approaches and evident gaps in the existing research, in INTERACT we target two goals. First, we abandon the dominant optics of the State of the country of destination and engage with the available literature examining the role of the institutions and communities of origin in shaping integration outcomes of emigrants. Second, we will review the literature in an effort to inventory existing knowledge on this aspect on nine different dimensions of integration: labor market outcomes, education, political participation, civic participation, social interactions, access to nationality, language, religion, and residential integration. As INTERACT focuses on EU dynamics in the field of integration, we will also link these to the existing EU policy (see 1.3).

1.2 Integration, a three-way & three-level process

Past theories on migrants' integration focused on the destination country. But, as research on "transnationalism" have highlighted, and Sayad (1999) before transnational research, some migrants live in a "transnational space," they have connections in both their country of origin and of destination. The literature on transnationalism also looks at the connections migrants develop across different countries of destination.

While integration takes place in the latter, migrants maintain a variety of ties with the former. New means of communication facilitating contact between migrants and their country of origin, globalization bringing greater cultural diversity to countries of destination, and nation-building in source countries seeing expatriate nationals as a strategic resource have all transformed the way migrants interact with their country of origin. Governments and non-governmental actors in origin countries, including the media, play an important role in making transnational ties a reality, and have developed tools that operate: economically, to boost financial transfers and investments; culturally, to maintain or revive cultural heritage; politically, to expand the constituency; legally, to support their rights. We thus conceive integration here as a three-way process. How do these ties influence the

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[4] See for example Van Tubergen 2004; Levels, Dronkers, and Kraaykamp 2008; Tribalat 1996; Alba, Schmidt, and Wasmer 2003; Cheung and Heath 2007.

integration of the migrant in the country of destination? To what extent do policies pursued by EU member states to integrate immigrants, and policies pursued by governments and non-state actors in origin countries regarding expatriates, complement or contradict each other? What effective contribution do they make to the successful integration of migrants and what obstacles do they put in their way?

Integration is thus defined here as a three-way process in which both the countries of origin and of destination's actors influence migrant integration.

To analyze migrant integration in their country of residence, different indicators of integration and of ties between countries of origin and of destination have to be taken into account on different levels. The INTERACT project thus aims to analyse the multilateral, bilateral, and mono-directional ties between countries of origin and countries of destination on different levels: the states, civil society organizations, and the migrants.

However, we do not pretend that actors act in a void: the discursive context of their actions is important. Integration processes are always interpreted as a relation between a core group and outsider group. In our view the core to which the immigrants are supposed to integrate, as well as the core the emigrants should feel attached to, is a socially-constructed phenomenon (as in the classical work of Anderson (2006). Therefore, we believe it is necessary to take into account the various discourses shaping these phenomena in a given context.

Table 1. Identifying the state's and civil society organizations' actions that might affect the individual integration of migrants

	State	**Civil society organizations**	**Individual**
Economic integration			
Actors	Governmental institutions and bodies	Specific trade unions Companies policies	Migrants
Actions	Elaboration of laws, public policies, & specific market regulations on the labour market Policy discourse	Social discourses; media discourses	Establishing the individual position on the labour market
Education			
	Governmental institutions and bodies	Public schools and schools following the national curricula	Individual migrant
	Elaborating laws, public policies, & specific regulations national curricula Policy discourse	Teaching following and not the national curricula (in associations, churches for instance) Social discourses; media discourses	School performance

Access to nationality			
Actors	Governmental institutions and bodies	Associations	Individual migrant
Actions	Elaborating laws, & public policies on nationality Policy discourse	Defending the migrants right to nationality or counseling Social discourses; media discourses	Choosing individual nationality
Civic Participation			
Actors	Governmental institutions and bodies	Associations	Individual migrant
Actions	Elaborating laws, & public policies on foreign associations as well as participation of migrants in associations of natives. Policy discourse	Involving migrants in their activities Social discourses; media discourses	Participation in associations
Political participation			
Actors	Governmental institutions and bodies	Political parties & other political institutions	Individual migrant
Actions	Elaborating laws, & public policies on political parties & other political institutions Policy discourse	Involving migrants in their activities	Participation to political parties & other political institutions; Non-formal political engagement
Religion			
Actors	Governmental institutions and bodies	Religious organizations	Individual migrant
Actions	Elaborating laws, & public policies on religious organizations	Involving migrants in their activities Social discourses; media discourses	Individual practices
Spatial integration			
	Governmental institutions and bodies	Social Housing, Private housing actors (housing agencies, private housing owners, banks, etc)	Individual migrant

	Elaborating laws, & public policies on housing Policy discourse	Involving migrants in their activities Social discourses; media discourses	Choosing individual place of living (in/out of the ghetto)
Language			
Actors	Governmental institutions and bodies	Associations & churches teaching the language	Individual migrant
Actions	Elaborating laws, & public policies on language Policy discourse	Involving migrants in their activities Teaching the language; offering language support	Achieving individual language(s) level
Social interaction			
Actors	Governmental institutions and bodies	Associations defending individual rights or favoring social interactions	Individual migrant
Actions	Elaborating laws, & public policies on mixed marriages & other mixed social interactions Policy discourse	Social discourses; media discourses	Individual interactions (friends, intermarriage, neighbourhood, mixing in the work place)

Avoiding "methodological nationalism," we are willing to address how "deterritorialized nation-states" (Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc 1994; Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003) influence the migrant's integration. Thus, states are conceived as actors implementing their policies beyond their geographical borders, through bilateral agreements and state representatives abroad, for instance, knowing that even researchers questioning the "transnational" practices of the states recognize that they are the main actors regarding migration, defining citizenship for instance (Gerdes and Faist 2010). In addition, countries of destination and of origin could also influence the migrants' integration through non-State actors, such as firms, political parties, the media, or associations.
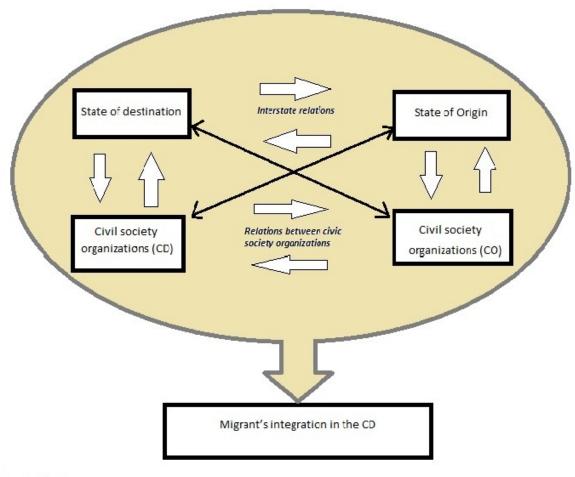
Figure 1. The impact of ties between institutional actors on the migrant's integration

CO: Country of origin
CD: Country of destination

It is a cliché to say that the most entrepreneurial individuals with relatively high human capital tend to migrate more. This basic truth has been widely researched. We know now that there is a selectivity effect in migration processes: the people who move out of the country of origin and people who stay there are not randomly selected. So we know a lot about individual agency (migration decisions) but our knowledge of the context shaping these decisions is patchier. What is the role of the country of origin's State and non-State actors on this selection process? How do existing migrants' networks, and intermediaries in the migration process influence the type of people who are emigrating? How do State policies such as pre-departure training programs, bilateral agreements between States of origin and destination affect who migrate and who does not?

The same can be hypothesized about secondary movements: there are immigrants who decide to return to their countries of origin or migrate further, and there are the ones who stay in the country of destination. This process is also not random, but we still do not know a lot about its determinants. The reason of return could be both a consequence of downward and upward integration in the country of destination. Is the level of integration an important determinant of this selection process? Can we identify the impact of the country of origin, its policies and civil society organization actions as a factor in migrating, staying or moving? Do these actors, and the networks among them influence the migrants to integrate either in their country of destination and/or in their country of origin? For example, do ethnic networks opening ethnic markets allow for integration in the country of destination, or do they trap

migrants in this low-skilled job position? Are pre-departure State policies directed towards specific market sectors (e.g. domestic services, care) an entry to the job market or an enclave?

INTERACT will explore these questions further, to expand our understanding of the real importance of integration outcomes on mobility.

1.3 The EU definition of integration of first generation migrants

The EU policies have taken into account the existing knowledge in the field. According to the 1St article of the Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU adopted by the Justice and Home Affairs Council in November 2004, "integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States." Integration should involve the following dimensions: labor market outcome, education, political participation, civic participation, social interactions, access to nationality, language, religion, and residential integration

Recently, however, the European Commission has departed from the vision of integration as a strict two-way process and has acknowledged that "countries of origin can have a role to play in support of the integration process" (COM (2011) 455 final). It not entirely clear what is meant by this role and what affect eventual policy tools may have. Even though we consider that sending countries may play a role in integration, our understanding of the three-way process of integration does not imply that we consider that sending and receiving nations have equal responsibilities when it comes to immigrant integration. The practical dimension of INTERACT is first to provide an inventory of possible policy instruments and non-policy tools that can influence emigrants' integration in the EU, and second to test their impact.

2. The impact of State and non-State actions on individual integration of emigrants

INTERACT is placed in the field of integration studies, but due to its focus on the links with the countries of origin, it touches upon two important strands of migration studies: transnationalism and diaspora studies. In this section we will describe our conceptual choices in relation to these two broad analytical frameworks.

2.1 Transnationalism: an "empty conceptual vessel"?

The definitions of "transnationalism" in migration studies are either too restrictive, or too broad to help us build our conceptual framework in INTERACT. Past research evolved around two approaches: migrant-focused and all-encompassing approach. INTERACT research has indeed to be distinguished from previous research on "transnationalism" because it deals with clear-cut cross-border activities of specific institutions. In this section we introduce briefly the position of INTERACT towards the concept of transnationalism, flag up its limitations for our research. Then we move onto the discussion of main concepts used by INTERACT project.

Migrant-focused research postulates that the "transmigrant" has ties in both countries and exists in-between both countries, living in a "transnational space," in a context of decreasing of nation-state's power[5]. Following Waldinger's critics of transnationalism considering international migration as a social but not political phenomenon (Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004; Waldinger 2008), INTERACT focus is framed by nation-state and various level of governance that always include a nation state and recognize its power, thus we cannot use this perspective.

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[5] The answer from Glick Schiller and Levitt (2006) to Waldinger and Fitzgerald's (2004) criticisms of transnationalism still focus on the migrants, and not on States and civil society organisations.

Overhauling this restricted definition of transnationalism focusing on the transnational ties of the migrant (Basch, Glick Schiller, & Szanton Blanc 1994; Glick Schiller 1999), other scholars defined transnationalism more broadly. According to them (Faist 2000; Faist *et al*. 2010), "transnational spaces" means all the spaces, actors, and actions occurring out of the state's geographical borders. This kind of definition of transnationalism merges together different scales: the state level and international policies, the sub-national level, and the individual (the migrant) level, and the relationships between these actors. Thus if specific definition of transnational activities as specific activities occurring beyond the nation would help analyzing this kind of a reality, defining transnationalism as any cross-border activity would be too vague and ambiguous.

Other research attempted to distinguish transnationalism "from above," meaning any transnational activity from the global capital, the media, and international organizations, and transnationalism "from below" that is to say local activities (Smith and Guarnizo 1998). But this definition of transnationalism is still too ambiguous and to vague, because it blurs together interstate policies, unilateral ones, actions from one country towards a specific association abroad and actions towards migrants abroad. We will thus be very specific on each tie (See Figure 2) we are willing to study in INTERACT.

"The concept [of transnationalism]'s sudden prominence has [thus] been accompanied by its increasing ambiguity. Transnationalism thus runs the risk of becoming an empty conceptual vessel" (Smith and Guarnizo 1998, 3‑4). That is why we will define precisely the level and the types of ties and actions analyzed. What INTERACT studies is how international bilateral actions of states, unilateral state's and civil society organizations' actions towards migrants influence the migrants' integration in the country of destination. A broad definition of transnationalism includes all these different actions, but using such a watered-down concept gives no explanatory power to our theoretical framework. Calling some state activity "transnational" *per se* does not explain its impact on integration.

Neither the restricted definition of transnationalism, nor the broader one fits our research question that is how ties between the country of destination and the country of origin influence the migrant integration in the country of destination.

However, thanks to the transnational research, we know that contemporary migrants tend to live in (at least) two places: the origin and destination, both benefiting from their special position (tapping the resources) and at the risk of slowing down integration processes (by using other points of reference). But is "transnationalism" always an individual choice? Is it the decision to let go the country of origin always dependent only on the "transmigrant?" Or maybe the country of origin is successful in closing the "transmigrant" in? What are the conditions that make this closing-in an integration success? Is it possible?

Individual integration failure or success is also shaped both by country of destination and country of origin. Policies, approaches, actions both of states, and civil society organizations all influence the life of a migrant. Governments, civil society and communities both in the countries of origin and destination elaborate outreach policies, develop international cooperation where the migrants are present. In our optic, the role of the countries of origin has been under-researched and we put focus more on its role more than that of the receiving country.

The State is defined by its power over a territory and over the specific people. However, the capacity of the State to reach beyond its borders to shape the life of a population that it perceives as part of its own "people" has not been widely acknowledged. A strand in diaspora and citizenship studies has discussed phenomena such as "polity building" or "nation building" beyond the actual state borders (Gamlen 2008, Faist 2008, Baubock 2009). In our view, the range of State actions to influence its "people" wherever they are, are much larger and more complex than traditional political instruments (such as citizenship, voting, socio-economic rights…). In a way, a "transnational" migrant is always accompanied by what we call a "transborder State."

The trans-border State is in fact a complex constellation of rules and actors, laws and practices, state and non-state institutions, communities that influence the migrants' integration in the nine dimensions. Its influence can be minimal (e.g. limited to facilitating the flow of remittances) to a fully-fledged engagement in structuring the life of migrants abroad (e.g. through engaging in bilateral agreements on international level and funding grass-roots activities abroad). It can be focusing on migration and development agenda (e.g. Mexico), equal rights agenda (e.g. EU Member States) or control mechanisms (authoritarian states). Its influence can be constructive or disruptive. Our goal is to identify the plethora of actions the trans-border State can undertake and to classify them.

2.2 The impact of diaspora, emigration and immigration policies

The idea of introducing the variable of State policy when looking at migration did not really occur to economists and sociologists until the late 1970s. The postulate of "bringing the State back in" (Brettell and Hollifield 2000) evolved into a quite lively field of study and brought to light several pertinent questions on the nature of migration policy development and its impact on migration trends on macro level, and individual choices on micro level. However, the field developed with an internal fault. It has created definitions, concepts and frameworks of analysis adjusted to its main subject of analysis: a receiving Western liberal democracy (Joppke 1999; Mau et al. 2012). This machinery has been later on sporadically applied to other countries of the world, establishing thus a hegemonic discourse of "migration policy" (see e.g. Cornelius et al 2003). Consequently, since the focus of scholars contributing to the field has been almost exclusively on "immigration" to Western liberal democracies (Brettell and Hollifield 2000; Zolberg 1999) instead of "migration" defined more broadly as movement across borders (internal or international), a wide array of issues has been potentially under-theorized or left out altogether, such as return migration, emigration and diaspora policies and politics.

Only recently policies towards the diaspora and emigrants have gained prominence in the context of migration and development agenda. Currently they are dealt with predominantly under an overarching category of "diaspora policies" (Gamlen 2008). In fact, there is no clear conceptual division between "emigration policies" and "diaspora policies" in the literature and the first is basically missing from academic discourse. It seems that scholars tend to focus more on the effects of emigration on developing countries (e.g. on remittances Ratha, 2005), and their policies (see Agunias 2009; Délano 2009). The notion of diaspora is overwhelmingly employed to denote emigrants who are target of possible policies and actions, even though such an approach is problematic.

The classical definition of "Diaspora" (with a capital letter) includes notion of violence, traumatic collective experience, the sentimental and emotional links to the country of origin, and the strong sense of belonging (Safran 1991; Cohen 1995), and thus all the extreme cases of forced dispersion. Most importantly, it denotes populations dispersed between two or more countries of destination. Sheffer (Sheffer 1986) proposed a definition of Diaspora based on three criteria: the dispersed group must hold a distinctive collective identity across international locations; the group must have some form of internal organization; the group though dispersed must keep up ties with the country of origin, be it symbolic or real.

However, during the late 1990s the traditional view on diaspora as fleeing one country of origin and being thus of one nationality/ethnicity has changed, as the groups from the same nation-state, have been more and more often from different ethnic origins. The migration reality has undermined classical definitions and pushed scholars to search for new concept boundaries. The definitions thus focused less on ethno-national unity, but included people who maintained strong collective identities. The notion of diaspora has come to denote, as Vertovec and Cohen observe, any deterritorialized or transnational group, which resides outside of its country of origin and that maintains social, economic and political networks across the borders and the globe (Vertovec and Cohen 1999, xvi).

As more recent studies show, the concept of diaspora has been used in many different senses in the policy realm, especially since its engagement in the emigration and development discourse (Weinar

2010). It is still not clear who is a member of diaspora. In the specific policy context, international and governmental actors tend to apply a very broad version of the definition, being as inclusive as possible, keeping in general only three important conditions: broadly understood ethnic/national origin; capability to contribute; and readiness to contribute to development of the country of origin. However, each policy actor has puts the emphasis on different conditions. Thus different states and different organizations have different view of their own diaspora. The actual use of the term "diaspora" in the policy context is based on several indicators such as legal status, citizenship, belonging to an organization, duration of stay, identification, skills, and employment status that help distinguish diasporas from other communities and promote them as policy agents.

The concept of diaspora is thus unclear and constructed by actors, depending on their experience or need. Consequently, diaspora policies are not well defined either. They can focus on recent emigrants or on long-established descendants of emigrants abroad. Gamlen (Gamlen 2006) distinguishes between traditional diaspora policies (such as consular protection) and policies that aim at keeping the ties between the populations outside the country and the country of origin. In this case the ultimate goal would be to widen the community and build a nation beyond its own territory.

INTERACT's objective is threefold. First, we would like to introduce a clear conceptual division between emigration and diaspora policies, even though the two policy frameworks tend to overlap if emigrants do not return and settle abroad. Second, we would like to further nuance the category of diaspora policies, based on actual practices of actors engaged in their development and implementation. Third, we acknowledge that countries of origin might play a role in integration of individual migrants through their emigration and diaspora policies. Our objective is to examine and understand them.

Table 2. Examples of emigration and diaspora policies

Emigration policies	
Examples of outward mobility policies	bilateral agreements on one-off labour migration (services, temporary employment, work & travel programmes); arrangements for recognition of qualifications of own nationals abroad when sent under specific agreements; agreements on the portability of social rights of migrant workers sent under a specific agreement; facilitation of re-insertion of temporary emigrants; exit policy (regulation of outward mobility); retention schemes;
Examples of circular and temporary mobility policies	bilateral agreements on cyclical labour migration; arrangements for recognition of qualifications of own nationals abroad when sent under specific agreements; agreements on portability of social rights of migrant workers sent under a specific agreement; facilitation of re-insertion of circular migrants; pre-departure measures;
Diaspora policies	
Examples of policies on political ties	Provisions for special IDs/visas; Permitting dual nationality, External voting rights; Military duty;

	Specific actions addressed to expatriates by political parties
	Participating in local elections
	Reciprocity of political rights
Examples of policies on socio-economic ties	Providing pre-departure services;
	Bilateral agreements on labour migration (including social rights and portability of social rights);
	Customs/import incentives;
	Protection of social and labour rights of citizens abroad (by the state or other actors)
	Providing healthcare abroad;
	Special economic zones;
	Investment services;
	Tax policies (incentives, special levies);
	Facilitating remittances;
	Welfare and education services support;
	Financial products addressed to emigrants;
	Property rights (full or restricted);
	Matching fund programs (as 1+1 in Mexico);
Examples of policies on cultural ties	Providing national curricula education;
	Providing education in national language;
	Sponsored teaching of national language abroad;
	Honouring expatriates with awards;
	Convening diaspora/migrant communities congresses (by authorities of the state of origin);
	Convening diaspora/migrant communities congresses (by migrant organisations);
	Providing media services (broadcast) abroad (by the state of origin or private actors)
	Cultural diplomacy strategy focusing on migrant communities and diasporas
Special arrangements in institutional framework:	Expanded consular units;
	Bureaucratic unit, or dedicated ministry, focusing on emigrants, migrant communities abroad, returnees.
	Special legislative representation;
	Consultative expatriate councils or advisory bodies.

Source: adapted from Gamlen, Alan. 2008

We define emigration policies as all policies that regulate (either facilitate or limit) outward migration, mobility across countries and possible return. These can be bilateral agreements on sending workers abroad, agreements on recognition of qualifications or portability of rights, pre-departure trainings, but also agreements on facilitated cross-border mobility (e.g. visa facilitation agreements). They can concern individuals (individual dimensions, such as visa facilitation) or groups (collective dimension, such as sending a group of pre-trained shipbuilders abroad). What is important, emigration policies *per se* do not necessarily focus on permanent settlement (with some rare exceptions). But such a settlement can be their unintended consequence and such policies could have further impact on integration.

Whereas diaspora policies are the policies that engage emigrants and members of diaspora communities (both organised and individuals) with the countries of origin, building the sense of belonging and strengthening the ties. We do not impose a definition of diaspora here. We instead derive it for each country of origin from the policy framework and actors' practices: both of state states and non-state actors. Therefore, our definition is actor-driven. We focus on diaspora policies only in so far as they affect our target group. It is important to note that these policies and practices have, we would say, two dimensions, building two types of ties: collective and individual. In the first case the target would be the organised emigrant population and their descendants (as e.g. policies focusing on associations, community schools abroad) while in the second – individual migrants (e.g. access to nationality; electoral law). This approach helps us to operationalize integration as a three-way and three-level process.

3. Identification of gaps in the current state-of-art research on integration

As INTERACT focuses on nine different dimensions of integration, the three-way process will be documented in each of them. In each case we also look at the possible actors on various levels of engagement. Below we discuss briefly the main ideas about the impact of the countries and communities of origin on integration outcomes in the nine dimensions based on the available research.

3.1 Education

Most research on first and second generation migrants focus on their educational outcomes compared to the natives in the countries of destination, while the country of origin effect is widely overlooked[6].

Various studies on first and second generation migrants showed that their school performance was lower than the ones of the natives. This gap is mainly explained be the socio-economic background, and the language skills of the first. In addition to these personal characteristics, macro-structural effects such as the type of educational system (comprehensive or not), the starting age of compulsory school, and territorial inequalities.

The countries of origin are supposed to have little impact on these particular national system implemented in the countries of destination. However, the first could for instance implement their own school system. So it would be worth studying what are the strategies implemented by States and non-State actors from the countries of origin to improve the school performance of, for them, what they consider to be diaspora members. Apart from the EURYDICE survey (2009) studying the language and culture of third countries in Europe, no quantitative survey, even MIPEX, took into account the actors of the countries of origin in their analysis of the school achievements of people having a migration background. And few qualitative surveys on transnationalism and education consider the actors of the country of origin, save in a superficial manner. The same conclusion can be drawn from econometrics models. We can thus conclude that the existing literature did not address the question of the impact of the country of origin's actors' mobilization on educational achievements of its diaspora.

The INTERACT project should thus address the following questions both in a theoretical and empirical way:

   a) Do the States in the countries of origin adapt their educational system to the need of their emigrants and their descendants?

   b) Do the States of origin lobby for the recognition of their national degrees in the EU? If so, what is the impact of such actions on the integration of migrants in their country of residence?

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[6] To have a full picture, see Jacobs 2013.

    c) Do other actors from the countries of origin work to improve the educational achievements of the diaspora, or not?

3.2 Labour Market Outcomes

The literature on economics has mostly focused on the integration of immigrants on the labour market from the perspective of destination countries with the impact of the country of origin typically being neglected. The limited literature on the topic distinguishes three different actors in the country of origin, three different actors that can influence the labour market outcomes of migrants: i) state organizations, ii) non-state organizations and iii) informal social networks. These actors can boost migrant integration with legal incentives, agreements, and training, as well as informal information sharing. Unfortunately, if the actors that can potentially affect migrants' integration are clear, their actions and the impact of any actions is understudied. We do not know the appropriate functional form to study them. For instance, should pre-departure training be inserted in the test as a separate variable like a country dummy or rather as an interactive dummy with the education variable? Or is pre-departure training already affecting the return decision, favoring integration and so reducing return and creating positive selection?

Also the identification of the links with the countries of origin and data availability makes the study of the impact of the country of origin a particularly difficult one. Other factors can be more influential than country of origin actors. The time factor (duration of stay) and, to some extent, the impact of networks have been identified as determinants of integration as well, but they do not have a clear relation to country of origin actors. Another important issue is the self-selection of immigrant groups' transnational practices. If the selection is non-random the results of the role of country of origin on the assimilation process will be, instead, biased.

The focus of Interact should thus be on the following issues, while focusing on states and civil society organizations from the country of origin:

    a) The impact of labour market outcomes and the integration of Government actions such as pre-departure or post-arrival training, the promotion of international qualifications recognition and other equivalent measures;

    b) The impact of labour market outcomes and the integration of social networks in countries of destination, and what Governments and other actors can do to create and strengthen these networks.

3.3 Residential integration

These two dimensions of integration are deeply connected to others, residential integration for instance.

The first research on the "city" and the "ghetto" were done in the United States in the First Chicago School of sociology. This research primarily focused on the racial segregation of African-Americans in American cities. If this racial framework remained in American literature until at least the 1970s, in Europe, research focused, instead, on migrant's groups, meaning that the different countries of birth were taken into account. European research then showed that there was less concentration in Europe than in the US (Peach 1996). A second evolution in academic research is that the First Chicago School considered geographical distance to be a sign of social distance, whereas recent research showed that the reality was far more complex. Ethnic enclaves are, indeed, areas where housing, and employment is easier than in the core society. They provide a solidarity net, and help newcomers to integrate into society. These are the reasons we should not conclude that ethnic clustering is synonymous with a lack of integration.

Residential integration can be both defined by the nature and quality of migrant housing (e.g. ownership, housing conditions), and the question of where they live (e.g. ethnic concentration). Different factors were identified in the literature regarding the residential integration of migrants:

a) Direct and indirect discrimination on the housing market

b) Self-segregation of the majority group (e.g. gated communities)

c) Migrants' socio-economic characteristics in a specific housing market

d) Public transportation

e) Chain migration, migration network, migration intermediaries

f) Budgetary arbitration of the migrant (investing in housing here or there)

The country of origin's actors could affect these factors. First, they could affect migration flows, networks, and migration paths of migrants that could influence their housing. Second, they could influence a migrant's investment choices regarding supply in the country of origin.

Residential integration should be seen as a process, in which housing structures, individual characteristics and choices, and migrants' network interact over time, and across borders. Future researchers would, thus, be well advised to study migrants' practices, national characteristics in both countries.

If past European research focused on the national scale of comparison, recent researchers have shown that different regional, and even city, and neighborhood models existed within the same country. Whatever the scale of analysis, data have been very difficult to gather, since housing markets are mainly private. In addition, international comparison is very difficult to manage, since housing markets and thus indicators of integration differ from one country to another[7].

Regarding academic literature on the impact of the country of origin on the migrants' residential integration, the INTERACT Project could fill the following gaps:

a) What are the cultural expectations regarding housing in the country of origin? Do they have an impact on migrant practices?

b) Do migrants benefit from ethnic solidarity or actors in the country of origin regarding housing in the country of destination?

c) To what extent do pre-migration factors influence migrants' spatial integration?

Both state and non-state actors can have a different impact on the migrants' residential integration: while some of them are directly involved in the housing market, others are involved in financial transfers to this market, and the last have an indirect impact in this sector.

3.4 Language

Looking at integration, a fourth dimension should be taken into account: the impact of the country of origin on language practices. How is the language of the country of origin seen in the country of destination, and *vice versa*? Are there any language inequalities between one language and another: between different native languages of migrants from different countries of origin, different regions, different ethnic groups, according to the country of destination, and between the national language of the country of destination and the language of migrants?

Existing quantitative surveys are currently unable to answer these questions. First, because some of them are censored given the sensitive character of this data. Second, because the formulation of the

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[7] See the state-of-art research made by Gidley and Caputo (2013).

questions regarding languages are often too vague. That is the reason why the existing literature is mainly based on qualitative studies.

Even though there are several thousand languages around the world, we can see important inequalities among them, and even a hierarchy between international languages (such as English, Spanish, and Arabic) and other language spoken by few people only. This domination of some languages can also be explained by past and present geopolitical inequalities.

Economics and sociology show that language is part of the human capital and can deeply affect school performance and labour market outcomes. While the indicator of language skills is usually based on proficiencies in the language of the country of destination, bilingualism and multilingualism could also have a positive influence on integration, and open the job market.

However, language skills are not typically seen by destination and origin countries as an asset. On the contrary, linguistic skills in a foreign language are usually considered as obstacles to integration, even though sociolinguists concluded that multilingualism has helped in the acquisition of other language skills. Monolingualism has been a strategy of national cohesion both in the EU since the seventeenth century, and in postcolonial and post-Cold War countries. In this context, multilingualism is seen as a threat rather than a tool for integration. Bilingualism, when favored, is considered as a mid-term option to improve society cohesion in multilingual societies such as Belgium for instance, to integrate the migrants in the majority group, to integrate a society into the world economy, or to preserve existing communities, or power structures[8].

Given this Interact will focus on the following issues:

- Speaking the language of the country of residence seems to be correlated with good labour market integration. Are good language proficiencies opening doors into the labour market? And/or are good language proficiencies a consequence of good integration in the country of destination in general and in the labour market in particular? In this respect, what is the impact of the correspondence of national languages in the country of origin and of destination? Does pre-departure language teaching have an effect on integration?

- We have to distinguish between bilingualism, meaning by that the good knowledge of two languages, and "no-linguism" that is to say the absence of good knowledge of any language. What is the influence of bilingualism on integration in the labour market? Has it a negative effect, employers not trusting somebody who might leave them to go abroad? Has it a positive effect, in a context of increasing global economy, in which the bilingualism of employees would open market opportunities for the company? If it has a positive effect, we would expect migrants coming from countries with several official languages, or from countries favoring bilinguism to have better integration on the labour market.

- Migrants seem to be building their language skills in the second language on their first language skills. This is why school in the country of origin is very important. In addition, school in the country of origin has a huge impact on language skills since it is primarily where migrants get to know a second language.

- Since schooling and education is of tremendous importance regarding language integration, what is the impact of other emigration policies, such as pre-departure training programs?

3.5 Social interaction

Migrant language proficiencies are deeply connected to education and labour market outcome, but also to social interaction in the country of destination. Marriage, friendship, neighborhood and workplace interaction will here be analyzed to measure the impact of the country of origin in this respect. We

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[8] See the state-of-art research made by Filhon (2013).

mean here social interaction connected to the country of origin: the presence of natives from the country of destination there for instance, but also the policies and actions of actors from this country.

Given this Interact has identified three main areas of social interaction that can be profitably studied.

- Mixed marriage are seen in migration studies as the indicator of "assimilation" by excellence. But a question that has not been studied is the impact of destination and origin countries' policies over binational couples and their children: right to marry or not; visa legislation of the spouse and the children; access to nationality of the spouse and the children; economic and social rights of the spouse and the children; and bilateral agreements regarding divorce of binational couples and rights of custody of the children.

- Neighbourhood interactions (closely linked to the residential interaction theme) are also a good indicator of integration. Whether migrants are living in a mixed or segregated area has a direct influence on social interaction. The INTERACT project thus aims to analyze the potential effect of the country of origin and of destination regarding the housing of migrants in the country of destination.

- Social interactions in the workplace are very interesting indicators of integration. In a mixed workplace, dynamics can show various levels of acceptance and adaptation. Interact will look closely at these dynamics, trying to identify possible links to the country of origin.

3.6 Civic Participation

Migrant involvement in associations could take place both in their country of destination and in their country of origin. While studying the civic participation of migrants the following questions emerge: first, how and, indeed, whether emigration countries can influence the civic participation of immigrants in immigration countries; and second, whether transnational links, in particular political transnational activities, have an impact on the civic participation of receiving countries.

Diaspora policies, as policies aiming at engaging emigrants abroad, and transnational ties defined as regular activities engaging emigrants between emigration and immigration countries, are, therefore, a central concept. Furthermore, civic participation is approached as a form of political participation that stands outside traditional political institutions. Even though other forms of civic participation exist, the focus is on migrant organizations as a privileged *locus* of civic engagement. The issue of maintaining links with the country of origin and simultaneously integrating the immigration country should also be raised. In order to understand, the impact of the country of origin, a mapping of state and non-state actors in the country of origin which aims at influencing emigrants abroad should be done. Possible conflicts of interests with countries of origin and countries of destination are also present in relation to the civic participation of emigrants both here and there.

Three case-studies selected in the literature show: first, how Mexico and Mexican migrants in the U.S. develop links influencing civic participation; second the engagement in the hometown association of migrants from El Salvador in Washington followed by a shift to civic engagement focused on host country; and, third, the participation of three groups of migrants in seven European cities. The impact of countries of origin on integration can be direct or indirect. Civic participation can be directly sustained by countries of origin, but it can be also seen as an unintended consequence of transnational activities.

Interact will first consider the ones occurring while migrants take part in civil society organizations. To what extent do the ties maintained by migrants with the countries of origin influence civic participation in immigration countries? To answer this question, we will explore the following issues: first, whether and how emigration countries can influence the civic participation of immigrants in immigration countries; and second, whether transnational links, in particular political transnational activities, have an impact on civic participation in receiving countries.

3.7 Religion

We will, then, consider the impact of religious organizations, and States' policies regarding religion on integration. Research into the impact of the countries of origin and of destination actions' regarding the religion of the migrants on their integration is non-existent[9].

Past research focused on three types of positioning of religious group in the countries of origin and of destination:

  a) The migrant religious group is a minority in the country of destination;

  b) The migrant religious group is a minority within the migrant community;

  c) The migrant religion is the same as the religion of the country of destination.

Even though the share of believing migrants is higher than among natives, religious practices might not be strictly correlated to such statements, because believing, behaving and belonging do not strictly overlap. Regarding political participation, it is the sense of belonging to a religious community itself connected to a nation that influences integration, rather than one's religious beliefs. This religious identity can thus be instrumentalized by the State in the country of origin in its diaspora policies. In addition, past research has shown that regular attendance in religious institutions rather than religious identification affects political participation: participation in religious activities has a bigger impact than the first. Moreover, other factors, such as ethnic and national identification, legal status, and residential integration influence political participation. However, these dimensions have not yet been addressed regarding migrant integration in the EU. Thus Interact will focus on the following questions:

  – Previous research on religion showed that national belonging, religious beliefs, and religious practices have to be distinguished from each other. Knowing that and that some religion groups have a negative image in society and in the political arena, it is important not to conclude a lack of integration, of national identification towards the country of destination, when a migrant is identifying him-/herself religiously.

  – What is the influence of discrimination against some religious groups on the integration of migrants from such groups?

  – The training of clerics seems to have an important impact on their place in the community. What is the influence of their training in the country of origin/destination on the integration of migrants from this religion in the country of destination? Would an improving of ties between both countries in this respect improve the integration of migrants?

  – What is the impact of involvement in a religious institution on the integration of migrants? Would, for instance, church support for young migrants or migrants' children improve their school performance?

3.8 Political participation

A third type of social interaction is occurring while migrants participate politically in society. Political participation includes here both conventional and non-conventional, state and non-state political participation of migrants, understood as the subject rather than object of public policies, both in the country of origin and in the country of destination. Past research showed that the political participation of migrants depended on their individual characteristics (income, employment, education, gender, age, length of stay, past political commitment, social integration, language, etc.), as well as the policies of both the country of origin and of destination. Conventional state political participation, voting for instance, is also correlated to laws on citizenship. The question is then: what is the impact of both countries on migrant political participation? How to distinguish the effect of the countries of origin

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[9] See Cesari's paper (2013).

and destination's policies from individual characteristics? The existing literature on this issue, focusing on the country of destination, reflects little on the country of origin.

For some scholars, political participation in the country of origin has no effect on political participation in the country of destination. For others, though, integration in one country gives resources that could be transferred to another. Following these results, we can hypothesize that political participation in both countries is either a zero-sum or a win-win game.

We can see from past research on external voting for instance – defined as the vote of emigrants abroad in election in their country of origin – that integration in the country of destination does not decrease political participation in the country of origin. However, research is needed to measure the impact of political participation in the country of origin on the integration of emigrants abroad.

When speaking about the "country of origin" we have to be aware that it represents a variety of actors in both the State and in civic society, with different interests and practices, which are far from converging. So future research on the impact of the country of origin on migrant political participation should take this complexity into account.

Another important issue is the recognition of engagement in non-formal political activities. This area of political participation has been under-researched in terms of links with the country of origin.

Considering the above, Interact will focus on the following points:

– Since voting rights are often limited to certain groups of nationals (e.g. internal and external voting), we will analyze the effect of allowing dual nationality in both the country of origin and of destination for political participation. We will also ask what are the effects of allowing, or not, allowing external voting.

– We will also question the impact of bilateral agreements regarding political participation and unilateral policies in the country of destination in terms of the political participation of foreigners (voting in the UK; member of Consultative Councils in Germany for instance).

– External voting is correlated with migrant integration in the country of destination. What effect can be explained by the other? The lack of integration in the country of destination could be correlated with high political participation in the country of origin. But the reverse hypothesis could also be true. High integration in the country of destination provides sufficient resources to be politically active in the country of origin.

3.9 Access to nationality

But considering political participation, access to citizenship policies have to be taken into account[10]. How do actors in sending countries influence the integration of immigrants in the European Union, with regard to access to citizenship? Access to citizenship can be viewed as an important factor in immigrant integration in the destination country. The role of actors in third countries, while only one of the factors that determine citizenship take-up among integration, is crucial as by allowing dual citizenship, countries of origin can take away a major constraint for immigrants in the naturalization process.

As regards the links between the integration of immigrants and possible links with the countries of origin, the literature has two main questions: (a) about the nature and the determinants of so-called "citizenship premium"; and (b) about the impact of the country of origin citizenship laws on the propensity to naturalise.

The current literature on citizenship acquisition discusses in depth the question of the "citizenship premium": whether citizenship acquisition actually improves labour market performance or whether

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[10] See Vink Position Paper (2013).

immigrants who perform better on the labour market are more likely to naturalise. It seems that a "citizenship premium" truly exists for a number of objective external reasons:

   a) unrestricted access to the labour market: in many countries citizenship is still a requirement for certain jobs, especially more stable employment in the public sector;

   b) lower costs of employment, i.e. better employability;

   c) higher trust in a more permanent relationship with the employer in the case of naturalized migrants.

In this context it is increasingly important to ask about the determinants of dual citizenship. The idea of constellations, i.e. a complex net of relations between legal rules and actors in the countries of origin and destination (Bauböck 2010), helps our understanding of migrant decision-making as regards one-way naturalization, retaining previous citizenship or entering the multi-nationality life style. This is important, even if intuitively we might expect that immigrants from countries with a more relaxed dual citizenship rules should be more prone to naturalise. However, recent research showed that this is not a given: other factors influence this propensity much more. Among these is the level of development of the origin country.

As regards the actors in the sending countries there is the question of who can exercise the most influence on the integration of migrations in destination countries, through the acquisition of citizenship. The most influential institutions are the national legislators who regulate what happens *vis-à-vis* the voluntary acquisition citizenship. Until now the role of diaspora pressure groups, civil society lobbying and similar non-governmental actors has been understudied.

There are several gaps identified by the literature. First, the relevance of dual citizenship in terms of naturalization and immigrant integration is severely understudied. The tendency so far has been quite assimilationist: the dominant scholarly discourse assumes that integration is influenced by naturalization, not retaining the origin country citizenship. However, as much as it is clear that the countries of origin can influence the propensity to naturalise, it is less clear how dual citizenship rules in origin countries shapes the continuing relation with origin and destination country. Second, we still do not know much about how dual citizenship can influence the citizenship premium in the destination country.

   – Being naturalized seems to be correlated with labour market integration. Is it the fact that being a national opens doors on the labour market (some jobs are offered only to nationals in the public sector; and in the private sector, they are some preference rules based on nationality for instance)? And/or is naturalization a consequence of good integration in the country of destination in general and in the labour market in particular? And what is the influence of the country of origin's legislation and practices, and of bilateral agreements between both countries in this respect?

   – In the INTERACT Project we will further analyze the effect of dual nationality legislation on naturalization rates. According to previous research, there should be a positive effect on naturalization rates in the country of destination.

The above gaps and questions will be approached within a specific research design, explained in detail in the following section.

4. INTERACT project methodology

To test these hypotheses, the INTERACT project will use a data triangulation method of data collection and analysis. First, we will collect data on the political and legal framework both in the countries of origin and of destination, thanks to our network of correspondents hired in each country. Second, we are gathering statistical information through LFS surveys in the countries of destination, and in cases where information is missing, correspondents will provide it for us. Third, the qualitative survey will help us to understand the importance of links with the country of origin in the everyday

life of a migrant. Questions on links and ties are preferred. The answers, given by so-called key-informants working in civil society organizations in the EU and in the countries of origin, are included to better understand the tendencies among one community.

4.1 Legal and Policy Framework Analysis

We base our analysis on Legal and Policy Framework Reports written by our correspondents: one for each INTERACT country. Correspondents, thanks to their knowledge of the institutional framework, that is to say both State and non-State organizations working with migrant issues, will provide us with a report based on their analysis of the grey literature. In the countries of origin, they will provide background information about the emigration and diaspora policies of different levels of the government, and diaspora-focused activities of non-governmental bodies. Whereas in the destination country, they are asked for specific information, concerning integration policies implemented in their Member State: policy solutions and their implementation, with emphasis on the role of migrant communities as well as a possible role of the governments, organizations and communities of countries of origin.

Thanks to this literature review, and the contributions of our correspondents, who are migration experts in their respective countries, we will be able to identify the different actors from both the State and civic society organizations. We will thus be able to grasp the different levels of governance, and the types of policies implemented in each country. This legal and policy framework analysis is necessary both in analyzing statistical results regarding migrant integration, to identify non-State actors interviewed thanks to our online survey, and in explaining the results of the survey.

4.2 The Qualitative Survey

Thanks to the qualitative survey, we will collect the views and practices of civil society organizations regarding migrants both in the country of origin and of destination. It will then be possible to compare civil -ociety organizations views and practices with States' law and practices, while comparing the survey results with the information gathered in the Legal and Policy Framework Reports. It will also be possible to compare official declarations, and laws, with their implementation. In addition, thanks to both the Legal and Policy Framework Reports, and this survey, we will analyze public discourses regarding the nine dimensions of integration we intend to study.

The qualitative survey will be divided into three steps. This exploratory survey will help us to identify the stakeholders in a standardized way, thanks to an online form filled out by correspondents. In addition, we will ask the correspondent to proofread the questionnaire in the 30 languages (+ English) into which it will be translated. They will also test the online questionnaire while interviewing a restricted number of people working in civil society organizations dealing with migrants over the phone (or face-to-face if necessary). Thanks to the work of the correspondents in the exploratory survey, we will be able to contact specific people and institutions to answer an online survey during the main survey. This online survey will allow us to obtain missing qualitative data for the matrix. It will also enrich our knowledge on how official policies are implemented in each country. We will thus have a deep knowledge of the potential gaps between the legal and policy framework and its implementation in both the countries of destination and of origin. In addition, we will be able to identify the role of each actor in creating or lowering the ties between the countries of origin and of destination, and in integrating migrants in the country of destination. In case the identified stakeholders are reluctant to answer our online survey, the correspondent will contact them, and interview them directly if necessary. Once the main survey is completed, the correspondents will perform in-depth interviews with specific stakeholders who already answered the main survey to test our hypotheses, or to understand better surprising answers in the main survey.

5.3 The Quantitative Survey

In order to analyse the level of integration of migrants in EU countries, a synthetic index of integration will be built up. This method allows a comparison of the integration level of migrants in EU Member States by dimension and by migration corridor. To this end, multivariate analysis strategies (and specifically the Principal Component Analysis-PCA) need to be applied on INTERACT database raw indicators.

The PCA produces a synthetic picture of the INTERACT dataset by reducing the loss of information, i.e. in terms of explained variance. Specifically, it searches for uncorrelated linear combinations (principal components) of the raw variables (indicators) that capture most information. To create synthetic indexes, normally the first component is used: the PCA extracts from the data matrix the linear weights (loadings) used to build a *component* from the data. In a sense, it allows the representing the dataset as one component, which is a vector made up of numbers that can be conceived as weights of the initial variables.

Given a list of origin-destination integration indicators, the Principal Component Analysis methodology allows the creation of a synthetic indexes of integration, which take into account the weight of each indicator in explaining the phenomenon. By using these weights (loadings), a synthetic index can be constructed for each dimension: labour market and education by migration corridor.

The final result will be the origin/destination matrix where each cell contains 9 indexes summarizing the level of integration of a migrant community in a destination country by dimension. These indicators will thus be comparable between migration corridors allowing us to rank their integration outcomes by dimension.

Thanks to the legal and policy framework analysis and the qualitative survey, we will be able to explain the results provided by the quantitative survey, and thus to fully identify the role of the origin country in migrant integration in EU destination countries.

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